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#### IV.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.<sup>1</sup>

I. Part of a marble stele, the purpose of which is obscure. From Egypt, exact provenience unknown. Width 0.324 m.; height 0.179... 0.223 m.; thickness 0.05 m. The stone has been deliberately cut from the original stele so as to form a rectangle suitable for use in a structure of masonry. This rectangle is now divided into two almost equal fragments by a perpendicular fracture. The lower edge shows a number of deep incisions made by a chisel. Both side edges are intact. One face is entirely covered with an elegantly cut inscription of nine lines, each of which consists of the name of a Greek together with his nationality. Letters shallowly incised, 0.037 m. in height, of the best Ptolemaic period. The ends of the strokes in the majority of the letters are slightly clubbed.

ΕΠΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΤΑΥΡΩΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝ  
ΛΥΞΩΝ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ  
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ  
ΑΓΙΑΞ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΩΝΙΧΟΣ ΒΟΣΠΟΡΙΤΗΣ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΞΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΜΟ[λ]ΓΑΓΟ[ρ]ΑΞ Β[οσπ]ΟΡΙΤΗΣ

Ἐπίμαχος Ἀθηναῖος, | Ταύρων Ἀκαρνάν, | Λύσων Ῥόδιος, | Κλει-  
τόμαχος Ῥόδιος, | Ἀγίας Ῥόδιος, | Φιλώνιχος Βοσπορίτης, | Διο-  
νυσόδωρος Ῥόδιος, | Ἀπολλώνιος Μυτιληναῖος, | Μο[λ]παγό[ρ]ας  
Β[οσπ]ορίτης.

Not one of these nine names is recorded elsewhere in Egypt linked with any ethnic qualification whatsoever, and only Ἐπίμα-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. T. Currelly, the Director, has generously given me access to these inscriptions.

χος, Δύσων, Ἀπολλώνιος and Διονυσόδωρος are noted in the Ptolemaic period. These four names, we infer, belonged, in these specific instances, to men who were Egyptian citizens by birth or by naturalization or who through length of residence were considered as good as naturalized. These we can therefore neglect as a group in this investigation. Of the entire list only Ἀπολλώνιος and Διονυσόδωρος are at all common. It is obvious, then, that our efforts to identify these men must be limited almost entirely to a study of already known personages outside of Egypt bearing the same names, claiming the same nationalities, and belonging to the same general period. But in order to know the period we must first of all determine the date of this inscription as closely as the evidence will permit.

In this task epigraphy is, unhappily, our sole support. The fact that certain strokes, as we have already observed, are slightly clubbed at the ends is strong testimony that the inscription is not pre-Ptolemaic. CIG, III, 4702 is an inscription (now at the bottom of the sea, unfortunately) of Egyptian origin which contains a list of Greek names and nationalities very similar to those in our inscription. Its editor, following the report of Minutoli, the discoverer of the stone, states that the letters are of the best period (presumably Attic, in this case). For this reason alone he is inclined to believe that the men named in the inscription were soldiers serving under Chabrias, the Athenian, in his Egyptian expedition of c. 360 B. C. As the discoverer's description contains no hint that the letters manifest any tendency toward the clubbing of strokes we conclude that our inscription is of more recent date. Owing to the loss of the presumably older stone this conclusion must remain unverified.

Let us now consult the epigraphical evidence of definitely dated texts. In the Sitzb. d. K. Pr. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1902, p. 1093, No. 2, Wilamowitz discusses an inscription in the museum at Alexandria which on indisputable grounds he dates in the period 276-270, i. e., early in the reign of Philadelphus. A photograph of a squeeze of this published by Wilhelm (Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenkunde, p. 324, fig. 89) shows precisely the same type of letters as those in the Toronto inscription. On the basis of similar epigraphical

resemblance Wilamowitz (op. cit., p. 1096) locates a Rhodian inscription in approximately the same period (cf. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hermes*, XXXVIII, p. 320). The reality of this resemblance we can confirm by means of a photographic reproduction (Wilhelm, op. cit., p. 323, fig. 88). From plates appended to Breccia's catalogue (*Cat. gén. des ant. ég. du Mus. d'Alexandrie, Inscr. gr. e lat.*) we know that certain inscriptions (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 292) dating between 304 and 246 exhibit almost the same epigraphical characteristics as those we are endeavoring to date. Of similar import is an inscription of the year 238 published in Milne's catalogue (*Cat. gén. des ant. ég. du Mus. du Caire, Gr. and Lat. Inscr.*, 22186; for facsimile see Miller, *Jour. des Sav.*, 1883, pp. 214 ff.). The transcriptions in capitals of Nos. 9270 and 9284 (both dating 270-246) of this same work are of little service to us. Of all the inscriptions here noted those originating prior to 270 resemble our inscription epigraphically more than those of a later date. To this may be added the general observation that a large majority of the inscriptions listed by Breccia (op. cit.) which contain the names and ethnika of Greeks belong to the third century. If, then, we have not been deceived in the resemblances just pointed out, we cannot but conclude that our inscription was made in the third century B. C., and probably in the first decades of that century, or even in the closing years of the fourth.<sup>1</sup>

The possible objection that this period is too early for Greek mercenaries to appear in Egypt may be answered by an appeal to certain documents. By Herodotus (II, 152-154; Breasted, *A Hist. of Eg.*, p. 569) we are told of the engagement of Carians and Ionians in the service of Psammetichus. Four papyri from Elephantine (Rubensohn, *Aeg. Urk. aus d. K. Mus. in Berlin, Elephantine-Pap.*, i-iv), ranging in date from 311 to 283, register the names and ethnika of a number of Greek soldiers. Further, there is the possibility that CIG, III, 4702, already mentioned, has to do not with a band of men in the service of Athens, but with Greek mercenaries in the service of Egypt. Rubensohn (op. cit., p. 19) notes the sig-

<sup>1</sup> For the establishment of the approximate date of other Egyptian inscriptions about contemporary with ours see Jouguet, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XXI (1897), pp. 191-193.

nificant fact that the papyri in question, although originating in Egypt and at a relatively late date, are in language and composition Greek documents untouched by Egyptian influence. The conservative impulse that operated in this case may have operated also in the so-called Chabrias inscription, accounting for the old style of lettering and the old manner of stone-cutting.

In the course of the year 305-4 we find a certain Epimachus Atheniensis employed with Demetrius Poliorcetes as chief architect and engineer of the siege-works of Rhodes (Vitr., X, 16, 9; Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. Staaten*, I, p. 327, n. 2). Of this man's career after the siege nothing is known. Let us suppose, for the purpose of argument, that he and the Epimachus of our inscription are one and the same man. In order to secure a rational explanation of the sudden appearance of Epimachus, the engineer, in Egypt, we have only to assume that he, like hosts of other Greeks at that time, was attached to Demetrius by the temporary bond of a business contract rather than by the more enduring bond of loyalty. The long siege of Rhodes ended, he was at liberty to enter into a new contract and serve under the banner of another. Rhodes and Demetrius were now at peace (Niese, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, I, p. 78; Diod., XX, 99). At the same time the island enjoyed such intimate relations with the first Ptolemy that she was in a position to act as mediator in bringing about a tacit understanding between Ptolemy and Demetrius. Under such conditions as these it would be very easy for Epimachus to be released by the latter so as to join the former's staff of engineers occupied with the construction of numerous temples and other public works in Egypt (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.).<sup>1</sup> The reduced following and resources of Demetrius and the notoriously well-filled treasury of the Egyptian king would afford a natural explanation for such a change of masters. But, on the other hand, granting that Epimachus made no new alliance for several years subsequent to the siege of Rhodes, the definite pact between Demetrius and Ptolemy during the period 296-4

<sup>1</sup> E. g., a certain Cleon, an architect, was chief commissioner of public works in the Fayûm (Mahaffy, *A Hist. of Eg. under the Ptol. Dyn.*, p. 91).

(Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Plut., *Demetr.*, 32) would supply a historical occasion for the architect to pass from the service of the one prince to that of the other without alienating the former. Inasmuch as the possible advent of Epimachus in Egypt on either of the occasions suggested would fall very close to or within the chronological limits to which epigraphical considerations lead us to confine our inscription, we believe it possible that he and our Ἐπίμαχος Ἀθηναῖος are identical.

Ταύρων is a name previously recorded only in Arrian's *Anabasis* (V, 14, 2; 16, 3), and in the two passages where it appears refers to a toxarch of unknown nationality in the army of Alexander. This man played a prominent part in the battle between Alexander and Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes in 327. As Ptolemy was present in the army at that time (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5), and as he treated of this battle in his *Memoirs* (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 14, 5), he must have been personally acquainted with Tauron, who would, therefore, have more reason than the ordinary adventurer for enlisting in the service of Ptolemy when the latter ascended the throne of Egypt. If 367 be the date of the birth of Ptolemy (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 3), he would be exactly forty during the year of the engagement with Porus. The probability is that Tauron, as an able-bodied soldier serving in so arduous a campaign, would be of about the same age. On the supposition, then, that he was thirty at that time, in the period 304-294, in which we would locate the removal of Epimachus to Egypt, he would be passing through the decade of life between fifty-three and sixty-three. This is rather too advanced an age, we must admit, for a man to enter into new and strange conditions of military service; but it is not necessary for us to assume that a man of Tauron's experience in organization need limit his activities to the affairs of war. The numerous undertakings of a purely peaceful character then being carried on in Egypt, undertakings requiring large bodies of thoroughly disciplined and organized laborers, would afford a very attractive and suitable occupation for a retired military officer of sixty.

Λύσων, the name of a Rhodian magistrate, is read on certain Rhodian coins of undetermined date (Mionnet, *Descr. des méd. ant.*, suppl., VI, 594). Once only does the name appear

in Egyptian documents of the Ptolemaic era, and that in military accounts of the years 251-249 (Flinders Petrie Pap., 109, a, iv, 1). There we read *Δημοκλῆς Λύσωνος*. The date of this papyrus restricts us to the conclusion that *Δημοκλῆς* was granted his homestead on the occasion of the first settlement of cleruchs in the military colony of the Fayûm. This took place shortly after the first Syrian war which closed in 274 or 271 (cf. Meyer, Heerwesen d. Ptolemäer, p. 32; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 175 ff.); that is, in 274-3 or 271-0. The second settlement did not occur till 244 (or shortly after), the date of the close of the third Syrian war. Seeing that cleruchs were not necessarily worn-out veterans at the time of their retirement to the land, but were in many cases men still in the prime of life (see Meyer, op. cit., pp. 27-28), it is possible to imagine that Democles might have been as young as thirty-five or forty when awarded his *κλῆρος*. Even if we allow a latitude of a few years in either direction, Lyson his father would be a contemporary, and perhaps a coeval, of Epimachus and Tauron, according to our previous calculations. Owing to our ignorance of the nativity of Lyson our efforts towards identification can proceed no farther.

IG, XII, 1, 155, gives us the text inscribed on a monument erected in honor of a certain *Διονυσόδωρος* called *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*. As this cannot possibly date earlier than the close of the third century, and is with greater assurance of certainty assigned to the second, this *Διονυσόδωρος* cannot be the man of that name mentioned in our inscription.

In concluding this part of the discussion we can state that all the available evidence is insufficient to establish beyond doubt the identity of any of the personages considered. But certain striking coincidences emerge from the midst of the uncertainty. The epigraphical characteristics of the inscription coincide with a period in the lives of Epimachus and Tauron, when they might naturally have been associated with Ptolemy Soter. The fact that this Tauron is the only one of the name hitherto attested is significant. Similarly significant is it that the only Lyson known to us in Egypt in Ptolemaic times must have been about contemporary with the Lyson of the Toronto inscription. It is hard to banish the suggestion that these coincidences are not accidental.

The ethnic *Βοσπορίτης* refers here to the Cimmerian and not to the Thracian Bosphorus, in spite of its reference to the latter district in a fragment of Sophocles (Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.*, No. 462). The name *Βόσπορος* was applied by extension both to the city of Panticapaeum, situated on the straits, and to the federation of Greek cities within the Bosporite kingdom (Strabo, XI, 495; Pliny, *H. N.*, IV, 24; Anon., *Periplus Ponti*, p. 7; Steph. Byz., s. *Βόσπορος*; Latyshev, *Inscr. ant. orae sept. Ponti Eux.*, I, passim; IV, 418; cf. *ib.* 419; Collitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.*, III, 2, p. 662, 5557, n.). *Βοσπορίτης* is therefore a synonym of *Παντικαπαίτης* (cf. Latyshev, *op. cit.*, II, 4; 358) or of *Παντικαπαιεύς* (Strabo, II, p. 74). In the field of epigraphy this form (also as *Βοσπορείτης*) is attested only twice, and that in inscriptions (IG, II, 3, 2849, 2852) which can be only indefinitely located in the period 403–31 B. C. It is also cited by Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v.) along with *Βοσποριανός*, *Βοσπορηγός*, *Βοσπόριος* and *Βοσπορικός*. The forms most frequently found in the inscriptions are *Βοσπορανός* and *Βοσπορεανός* (Latyshev, *op. cit.*, I, 115–17; IG, II, 3, 2850–51; III, 2, 2397–98; XII, 1, 11). Strabo often refers to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, designating its citizens more commonly as *Βοσπορηνοί* or *Βοσποριανοί*, and only rarely as *Βοσπόριοι*. Certainly the nature of the evidence does not permit one to say that one form (unless, perhaps, an exception be made of *Βοσπορεανός*) is more correct than another; *Βοσπορίτης*, however, seems to be the most literary.

Occurrences of the rare name *Μολπαγόρας* have been hitherto confined, with one exception, to Ionian sources—Miletus; its colony, Olbia; and Panticapaeum, the near neighbor of Olbia. The Molpagoras mentioned by Herodotus (V, 30) was a member of an aristocratic family of Miletus which perpetuated the ending *-αγορας* in the names of its adherents (see Macan, *Herodotus*, ad loc.). It is probable that this name-ending possessed the same aristocratic significance in the colony. Of the two inscriptions containing the name published by Latyshev (*op. cit.*, II, 14 = CIG, II, 2105; IV, 36) the first is dated on epigraphical grounds at the end of the fourth century or at the beginning of the third; it therefore corresponds closely to the period of the inscription which we are now editing. The second belongs to the fourth century



and may possibly point to the man named in the first. If this man (or, it may be, these men) is not actually identical with *Μολπαγόρας Βοσπορίτης* of the Toronto inscription, it is more than probable, owing to the exclusive proprietorship exercised by this well-known Milesian family in regard to the name-ending *-αγόρας*, that he was closely related to him by blood.

The name *Φιλώνυχος* is not previously known in the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

The purpose of this interesting inscription can be only conjectured. We are doubtless safe in saying that it was votive in its character and was erected in honor either of the reigning Ptolemy (Soter or Philadelphus) or of some god (cf. CIG, III, 4702). If it antedates the establishment of the military colony in the Fayûm (274-3 or 271-0), as the strange association of Tauron, Epimachus and Lyson leads one to think, the names are those of soldiers or engineers in active service in the royal army of Egypt or in the great works of peace instituted by the first two Lagidae. If, on the contrary, it postdates this settlement, then the names are those of soldiers retired to the *ἐπίταγμα*, or reserves, and settled on homesteads in the Arsinoïte Nome, or Fayûm. If the first alternative is true, the inscription may have originated outside of the Fayûm; but if the second is true, the inscription comes from within the Fayûm.

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*(To be continued)*